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PEACE NEWS

No. 974 Feb. 25, 1955 4d. (U.S. Air Express)
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U.S. burns our publications

and those of
**MOVEMENT FOR COLONIAL FREEDOM,
UNION OF DEMOCRATIC CONTROL**

PEACE NEWS REPORTER

HUNDREDS of thousands of books and magazines are being seized from the international mails and burned at Boston, US, post office.

This fact has been made known by the publication of two articles in the Boston Post last month boasting that "tons of Red propaganda is halted and burned here by special customs agents."

Publication of the article, however, explains why large quantities of literature sent by Peace News from London to our American office in Cambridge, Massachusetts, have failed to arrive there.

More than one thousand copies of "The Third Camp" and "The Camp of Liberation," printed and published in Britain by Peace News, are among the seized literature. Other publications are those of the Movement for Colonial Freedom and the Union of Democratic Control which our US office sells.

The following passage from the Boston Post article refers to a Movement for Colonial Freedom publication:

"Among the magazines burned... 'Guatemala' addressed to a Boston business man from England, criticised the US for halting the revolution in Guatemala. It was analysed and tossed into the incinerator."

Another paragraph referred to a Union of Democratic Control publication:

"One of the new propaganda books which was discovered and banned by Boston

MORE H-BOMBS WILL MEAN GREATER DANGER

By Emrys Hughes, MP

IF the House of Commons does its duty to the nation, it will demand that the Government withdraws its Defence White Paper and insist that the time has come for a drastic reduction in the huge expenditure that is planned for 1955-1956. For never was so much asked for so little.

At a time when every intelligent person realises that half a dozen hydrogen bombs could knock Britain out of a war in a night, we are presented with a bill for £1,537,200,000, most of which is for preparations for activities which simply could not save the population of this country from being blown to pieces, burned to cinders, or atomised as soon as the war began.

It is quite true that the expenditure is reduced from last year's £1,639,900,000, but there is a further £70,000,000 for Civil Defence to be added to this total which we are all told "has been provided for civil defence expenditure in an interim year while policy is being re-shaped."

No wonder so many military writers and MPs are now arguing that the time has come to stop the waste and drastically cut this large bill.

Mr. Frank Beswick, MP, told us in last week's Reynolds that this Government has poured out nearly £5,000,000,000 in the last

three years, with nothing to show for it."

We all remember the cry that went up from the Tory press about the waste on the Groundnuts Scheme. The Tories fought a general election on it.

But it was a trifle compared with this. Here we are, a year after we were supposed to be going to negotiate with Russia from strength, with less defence than we had before we started the gigantic rearmament programme in 1951!

And the loudest criticism in the House of Commons and the press comes from MPs like Woodrow Wyatt who were the chief advocates of rearmament then.

If a Tory Government had not been returned at the last General Election and a Labour Government had remained in power, what would Sir Winston Churchill and the Tories have been saying now. Exactly what some of the Labour critics are saying now, except that Churchill's adjectives would have been stronger.

But the whole business has become too serious for a pot-calling-the-kettle-black political campaign. Would we have been able to sleep more securely in our beds by now if a Labour Minister for Air had been at the Air Ministry instead of a Tory?

Would we have all the fighters and bombers, enough to protect us against H-bombs?

Not if a Labour Government had carried on with the same programme that it followed between 1945 and 1951. For the problems arising out of the fact that the

□ ON BACK PAGE

THE CLEAR CALL OF CONSCIENCE

BY SYBIL MORRISON

The United Kingdom also has the ability to produce such weapons (H-bombs). After fully considering all the implications of this step the Government have thought it their duty to proceed with their development and production... The conscience of the civilised nations must naturally recoil from the prospect of using nuclear weapons. Nevertheless, in the last resort, most of us must feel that determination to face the threat of physical devastation even on the immense scale which must now be foreseen, is manifestly preferable to an attitude of subservience to militant Communism.

—White Paper on Defence, February 17, 1955.

ON that day in August ten years ago, when the world first reverberated to the shock of the news that tens of thousands of human beings had been destroyed, and tens of thousands more infected with unknown diseases and appalling mutilations, by the use of the newly discovered atom bomb, there were many whose conscience did in fact, recoil from the deed.

That has not, however, prevented the steady and grimly determined progress (if such a word can decently be used in such a context) towards bigger and even more monstrous weapons.

If there has been any stirring of conscience it has not been apparent in the words and actions of those who govern us. On the contrary there is no sign in Government pronouncements on matters of peace and war of any concern for moral issues but only for expediency.

It apparently seems to them expedient to pin their entire faith and hopes for the future on the possibly deterrent effect of these terrible weapons. It is believed that no one would be so mad as to take the first step which would precipitate the destruction of life on this planet.

To spend thousands of millions of pounds on something which must not be used is certainly a peculiar act of faith, and is perhaps one of the most dangerous gambles that has ever been undertaken in the history of the world.

This White Paper on so-called "defence" is a truly shocking document, not only because, in giving the information in laconic terms that Britain is already proceeding in the development and production of its own Hydrogen bomb, it seems to pin us to "the point of no return," but because it is deliberately provocative.

In one paragraph it declares that the H-bomb will never be used because of its threat to all life, and in the next that Britain's only defence is to stock-pile these

bombs, which will never be used, and to develop "the most up-to-date methods of delivering them."

If Russia were to publish such a statement, there are few in this country who would not believe that the USSR were planning the most devilish aggression of all time.

To say that the conscience of the nation "must naturally recoil," and then proceed to give specious reasons why "the still small voice" should be deliberately smothered is so obviously immoral that it almost seems as though politicians had ceased to care about integrity or rectitude, or even for that matter, peace.

Their only care would appear to be the utterly paltry one of showing no subservience to Communism. Yet, to renounce these weapons, and endeavour to settle differences without relying upon them, far from being an attitude of subservience would on the contrary be so strikingly upright and courageous that no one could possibly mistake it for one of cringing "appeasement."

To meet Communism with means that can only stem its progress by the death of this world, is not a sign of moral domination or courage; it is simply an exposure of the complete bankruptcy of the statesmanship of expediency.

It becomes absolutely certain that this mailed-fist bluster will be the last, since should the bluff be called all stakes will be lost in the ultimate catastrophe.

Since there can no longer be any doubt that it is the intention of the USA and Great Britain to use these weapons, it is clear that the pacifist renunciation of war is the only possible course.

To renounce the H-bomb today is, in fact, to renounce war. If there is such a thing as a national conscience this is the moment for it to be heard; the still small voice must become a challenging clear call to the Government to renounce these cowardly and immoral methods. The public must assert their right to be heard for there may not be another chance, and pacifists must, and will, give the lead.

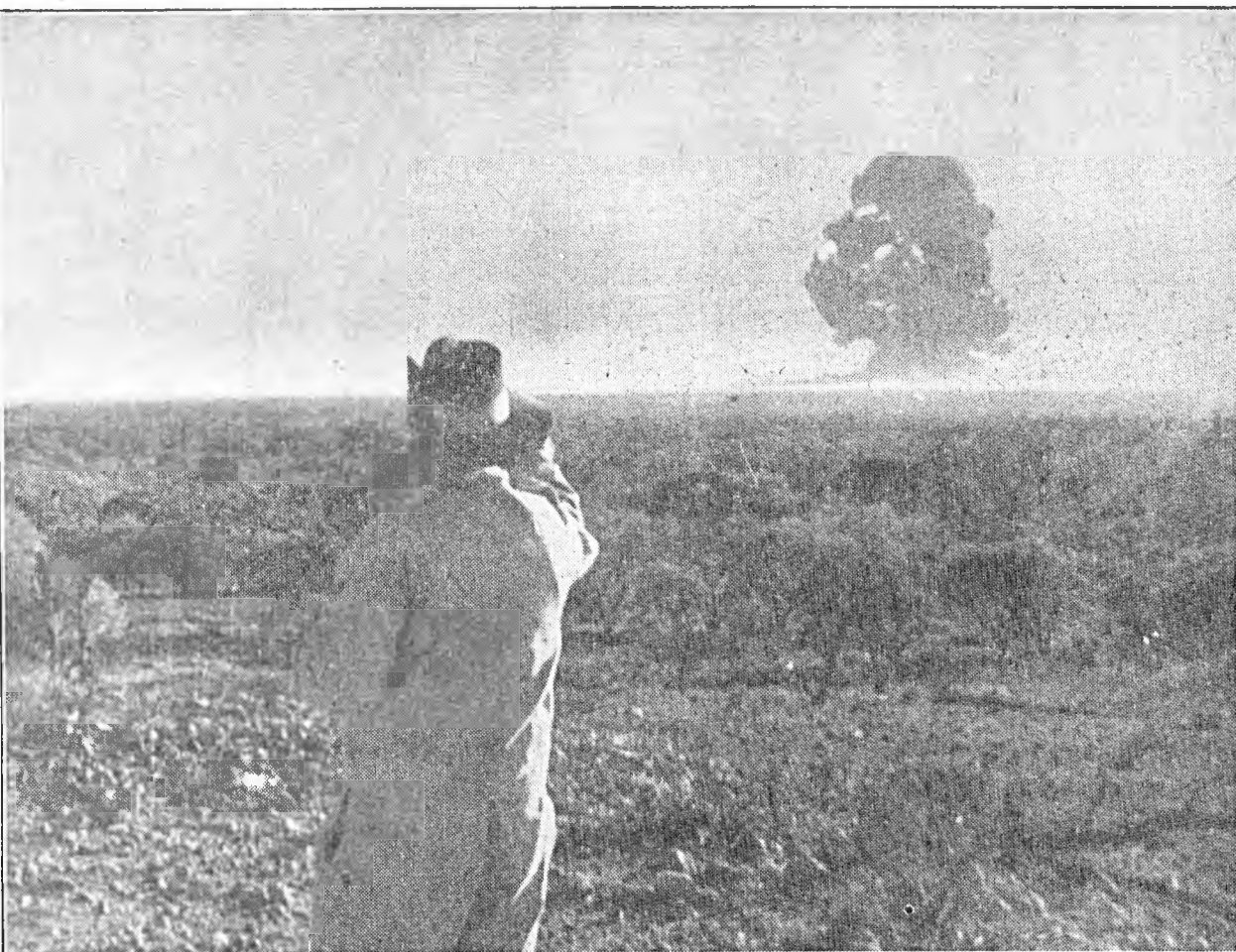
customs agents last year was 'Report of War on Indo-China.' This had been printed in England."

Russell Johnson writes from Peace News' US Office:

"We certainly suspected that the pamphlets sent from London were being held up here. The Boston Post articles indicate what is happening."

"We are earnestly pursuing the matter here, and are certainly going to make a fuss about this. It is very definitely an infringement upon the right of a citizen here to

● On back page



Sir William Penney watches an atomic cloud rise as Britain's second atom bomb is tested at Woomera, Australia.

THE MENACE OF ATOMIC WEAPON TESTS
PAGES 2, 5 and 6

H-BOMB DEMONSTRATIONS One woman to walk from Salisbury to London

PUBLIC MEETINGS, poster marches and demonstrations being planned in many parts of Britain as Peace News goes to press will voice opposition to the manufacture of the H-bomb in this country.

British pacifist organisations have called a public meeting in Friends House Euston on Thursday, March 10, at 7.30 p.m.

To focus public attention on the H-bomb issue, Mary Harrison, a Peace Pledge Union member and member of the Non-violent Resistance Group is to walk from Salisbury to London next week, via Winchester, distributing leaflets protesting against the decision to make the bomb and urging that Britain disarm.

She will be met a Kew Bridge on the outskirts of London by other poster paraders who will escort her to 10 Downing Street where a letter of protest will be handed to the Prime Minister.

The march will proceed via Hammersmith Broadway, Knightsbridge and Piccadilly to Trafalgar Square and Whitehall.

The full programme of the day's poster parades, which will also be used to announce the Friends House Meeting, will be announced in Peace News next Friday.

Other demonstrations are fixed for:

March 19 at Ipswich, Suffolk.

April 23 at Bromley, Kent.

Those wishing to join in these activities are invited to send their names and addresses to Sybil Morrison, the Peace Pledge Union, 6 Endsleigh Street, London, W.C.1.

A UNITED H-BOMB PROTEST MEETING

FRIENDS HOUSE

Euston Road, London, N.W.1.

Thursday, March, 10 7.30 pm

Speakers:

**VERA BRITAIN
EMRYS HUGHES, MP
and others**

Chairman: SYBIL MORRISON

Organised by the Standing Joint Pacifist Committee for: The Peace Pledge Union, The Fellowship of Reconciliation, The Peace Committee of the Society of Friends, and The Anglican Pacifist Fellowship.

PEACE NEWS

3 BLACKSTOCK ROAD, LONDON, N.4
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*Labour with a white skin cannot emancipate itself
where labour with a black skin is branded. —MARX.*

Criminal irresponsibility

WE publish in this issue some of the mass of material we have accumulated on the possible consequences of the hydrogen and atom bomb tests that the USA, the USSR and Britain propose to continue.

We bring no scientific knowledge to the appraisal of this information, but we think a useful purpose may be served in placing some emphasis on the things that are repeatedly being said by qualified scientists.

Most terrifying is the assurance with which completely contradictory assertions are thrown out. We believe that it may be possible to explain some of these pronouncements on the ground that they are on occasion adjusted, and on occasion made with a good deal more confidence than the facts or the knowledge of the facts warrant in order to subserve the policies of Governments. Professor Charles-Noel Martin in his address to the French Academy of Sciences last November claimed that many scientists are privately on his side but do not feel that they can support him publicly. As an instance he said that he was convinced that the world's weather bureaux have been told by their governments to keep out of discussions on the effects of the hydrogen bomb tests.

Mr. Devere Allen, Editor of Worldover Press, has recently made the just comment that "it is perfectly obvious that science knows little on this crucial point and that the easy-going and less careful scientists are the ones thus far prevailing. In short, we are in the hands of ignorant men, some of whom want to go slow because of their ignorance, and some of whom abandon all caution because of their ignorance."

In his novel "Ape and Essence" Aldous Huxley depicted some years ago a future generation consisting to a considerable extent of monsters, the milder examples of which had a different number of fingers or toes from normal human beings, caused by the influence on human variations at conception of radio-activity caused by atomic explosions.

Some scientists believe that there have already been sufficient explosions of atom and hydrogen bombs to have their effect on future generations, and it would seem to be exercising a minimum of prudence to hold up further tests until a responsible and informed scientific verdict can be given on this matter.

Some horrifying data came from Japan regarding women who were pregnant at the time of the Nagasaki explosion. Among thirty mothers whom tests had shown to have one or more major signs of radiation there were 7 fetal deaths (23 per cent.) 6 neo-natal and infant deaths (26 per cent.) and among 17 surviving children there were four cases of mental retardation—giving a total overall morbidity and mortality rate of approximately 60 per cent.

It has been estimated—and let us admit here that such estimates are largely guesswork, just as are the reassuring statements that we get regarding the consequences of these explosions—that the team of scientists, Japanese and American, who are engaged in observing the long-term effects of the Hiroshima and Nagasaki explosions, will not know the full consequences until the end of an observation period lasting 25 years.

According to Professor Alexander Haddow, speaking on December 8 last year, there had been up to that date 65 atomic and hydrogen bomb explosions. Professor Martin puts the number of hydrogen bomb explosions by both East and West at ten.

One of the things that has to be borne in mind regarding these tests is that although we can learn of the consequences of those exploded by the USA, we get no such information regarding those exploded by Russia. We know for instance of the suffering of those Japanese fishermen and of the death through radiation of Aikichi Kuboyama. We do not know what are the human consequences of the tests made in the Siberian wastes or on the Russian proving-ground on Wrangel Island, if that is where it is. It is clear, however, that these tests are likely to have such consequences, just as have the American tests.

Bertrand Russell has suggested that there should be an examination by scientists appointed by neutrals, or by India, into the consequences for the world of atomic warfare. Even apart from the question of war, however, there is need for a pronouncement of genuine scientific impartiality on the likely consequences of the continuation of these tests. It is a matter that should be raised as of urgent importance in UN Assembly.

It is possible that already coming generations will have to pay with rotted bone-structures and mental incapacity for the fear and power-ridden irresponsibility of the American and Russian Governments. Before more of these explosions are organised we have a moral responsibility to know what we are doing to posterity.

BIG-POWER POLITICS

THIS letter is written in some haste on the eve of a quick trip to the Pacific Coast and shortly before I fly to London on Feb. 28.

The month of March is to be spent mainly in Europe, the early part of it as a member of an International Fellowship of Reconciliation team campaigning in leading German centres against German rearmament.

As I have indicated on other occasions, the relationship between China and Russia is the thing to watch in any development in which the Communist movement is deeply involved. It would seem that two inferences may be drawn in this context regarding the Kremlin crisis symbolised by the Malenkov demotion.

1. It appears clearer than ever that since Stalin's death Mao Tse-tung is both in an organisational and intellectual sense the biggest figure by a good deal in the international Communist movement. His own position in his own government and national party is supreme and invulnerable, as is not clearly the case with any of the Russian leaders. As the crisis in agriculture compels attention in Russia, Mao's consistent emphasis on the land and the peasants ever since the early Twenties presumably enhances his standing as a Communist theoretician and strategist. Whether this means that Mao may have played a direct part in the change in Kremlin leadership, I would not venture to say.

2. The Russian high command undoubtedly has a number of reasons for the return to emphasis on heavy industry. However, the speculation of one of our columnists with a

background in the Communist movement back in the Thirties, that Mao and his colleagues may not have looked with unrestrained joy on Russian boasting about consumer goods while China was experiencing the agonies of industrialisation on a shoe-string, seems to me to have considerable merit. Mao may well have insisted on more heavy equipment from Russia in view of the Formosan situation and others like it. In any event, it seems clear, when one also notes that Russia plans to build a steel plant in India, that Asia will be a beneficiary of the new Soviet economic line. And if the Communist bloc actually succeeds to a considerable degree in aiding modernisation in Asia, what does this do to the remnants of Western prestige and influence in those regions?

Will Formosa be defended?

Turning for a moment to Formosa, it is obvious cause for rejoicing that at the moment open hostilities have de facto ceased, though there is no de jure armistice.

Although much has been said of the folly of US policy in relation to the mainland Chinese regime, I have noted few comments on what big power policy means for relatively smaller allies, as illustrated in US dealing with Chiang and his regime. There can be no question that when Chiang first moved his government to Formosa, the US supported him in the hope that one day he would help in overthrowing the mainland Communist regime and encouraged him to hope for this. More recently, was not one of the first acts of the

The British H-bomb

The British Government has decided to make its own contribution to the suicidal mania that is increasingly threatening man's future. Having manufactured its own Atom bomb, Britain is now to have its Hydrogen bomb.

Why should Britain need to do this? There is a great body of opinion in this country that would prefer to have nothing to do with preparations for the use of these cowardly weapons; would prefer that Britain should not provide facilities for American H-bomb launching-sites; and would prefer also that the Americans should not maintain stockpiles of these things in this country.

Even those, however, who, accepting the logic of military preparation, believe that the most effective defence is to be found in the most terrible threat that can be levelled at a prospective enemy, must feel that there is a question to be answered. Why does not Britain find sufficient security in the tremendous US stockpile, and oft-repeated claim that it greatly exceeds that of Russia?

We believe the answer to be twofold: and each aspect should give the people of Western Europe a good deal to think about.

The first is delicately expressed in a comment by the Manchester Guardian. It is important, says the leading article for February 18, that the Government should build powerful thermo-nuclear weapons as a deterrent. "It is important also because of the sad fact that the US Government is paying greater attention to British views on policy now that we have our own atomic weapons."

There we have it; atom and hydrogen bombs are not needed merely to impress Russia and China. They are wanted also to impress—and, given the need, to deter—the USA; just as the American supplies may also serve the purpose of "impressing" outside the range of the "iron curtain" countries.

People do not carry much history in their heads, and statesmen are used to making their foreign policy pronouncements as if there were no history before World War II. There are many, therefore, who assume that if Russia could somehow be transformed into a good "free" capitalist society—or somehow eradicated from the globe—the problem of war would no longer plague the earth, and we should all live tranquil lives untroubled by a power struggle that might at any time issue in war.

The British Government's decision to have the H-bomb is a grim indication that it at least does not take this view.

Realities of 'liberation'

THE second reason, not so fundamental, is well worth considering by the inhabitants of West Germany and other parts of Continental Europe.

There is a fear that in an atomic war the Americans might be tempted to concentrate on bombing vital Russian areas from which attacks against the USA will be launched and serviced. That is the logic of the conception of defending your own cities by threatening those of a prospective enemy.

For Britain, however, the primary necessity would be to attack and destroy bases from which the bombardment of British cities might be undertaken.

There are a considerable number of Continental cities that have already experienced the process of "liberation" by having TNT dropped on them. It is not at all unlikely that in a new

BEHIND THE NEWS

atomic war they may obtain liberation in the mushroom of a friendly H-bomb.

Freedom takes two blows

WE wanted to include in this issue a photograph of the Japanese fisherman killed by the US H-bomb test last March.

The Associated Press, an American news agency, had such a photograph available for reproduction at their London office. Peace News cannot have it, however. This newspaper has been singled out from other British periodicals for a refusal.

We do not doubt that Associated Press staff in London would prefer to march in step with Reuters and other British agencies who maintain a high standard of impartiality—but the shadow of the US Embassy and Cohn and Schine is over them, as the shadow of the Kremlin looms over Tass.

There is no ground for British complicity because an American agency is involved.

This incident happened in the same week that Sir Gerald Barry wrote to The Times about British Railways' withdrawal of facilities for a TV programme reporting impartially on British Railways.

"Had we been willing to cut out all inconvenient questions," wrote Sir Gerald Barry, "and to trim our script to please the susceptibilities of British Railways, no doubt full facilities would have been granted. Because a fraction of the script was not to their liking British Railways have made it impossible for the programme to be put on at all. Your readers may agree with me in regarding this as an act of attempted censorship."

"Television is a mighty instrument of information and opinion, already beginning to rival in impact and importance the Press itself—to guard the freedom of which has historically been considered a democratic duty. I suggest that today we must be no less vigilant to guard television's right to freedom of expression, and that such an attempt at interference as we have just seen manifested by British Railways should not be allowed to go unchallenged."

The neutral

A RECENT article in The Times described the foreign policy of Sweden, one of the two neutral nations of Continental Europe.

Like Switzerland, Sweden seeks to remain uncommitted in the power struggle in the hope that it will be able to remain neutral in war.

Likewise, it sides ideologically with the West, which is to be regretted, for the uncommitted nation should be able to see the undesirable trends in American power politics and the decline of democracy and freedom in the US, just as they are able to perceive the undesirable aspects of Communist totalitarianism.

When the world comes under the competitive domination of two great powers, those who stand clear of the "protection" of either should make it clear that they do not like the strong-arm bully even when he is bawling threats and defiance at another strong-arm bully.

Like Switzerland also, Sweden places its hope largely in its geographical situation: where Switzerland places reliance on its mountain ramparts Sweden can hope that its position in the extreme North may place it outside the territory over which a future war will range. It nevertheless organises itself as a small military power, and this also is to be regretted. It has a conscript army and a highly-developed system of civil defence which might prove of military value if A- and H-bombs were not used.

Sweden's calculations are doubtless on the same lines as those of Switzerland: that a well-trained military resistance, combined with the country's dubious value in a geographical sense in a war situation would be a deciding factor in deterring belligerents from over-running it.

These calculations are understandable, but we think they are mistaken. Sweden's military strength could add little to the advantages of its favoured geographical situation in a power struggle, and if its people could have the courage and initiative to formulate a defensive policy of non-violent resistance to invasion in place of military preparations it would probably find itself in a stronger position assessed on politico-military calculations. At the same time it would be able to release the labour and resources, now used for military purposes, for a policy of waging peace by helping backward peoples and giving reality to the principles enunciated in the Charter of Human Rights.

We should like to see the neutral nations refusing to be involved in the power struggle. They should become committed to different objectives from those aimed at by the two Power blocs.

Pacifists and Communists

IN his letter on page seven Mr. Pat Sloan avoids the main point that Tom Wardle raised in his letter on Feb. 4 about pacifists co-operating with Communist-led peace organisations.

This is the position of the war-resister, who decides to co-operate in work organised by the World Peace Council or one of its national affiliates, in regard to those who, in the countries of the Russian bloc, hold the same view as himself.

While the war-resister of the West who decides to co-operate with the World Peace Council or its national body is able to do so and may, of course, in so doing express his pacifism and personal resolve not to participate in war, it is not open to the Hungarian, the Rumanian or the Russian pacifist to do the same. These war-resisters cannot express their pacifism in print or by public meeting, they cannot be organised in national groups of the War Resisters' International, and exceedingly little news is permitted to come through to the West regarding what happens to those who, on grounds of conscience, have refused to undertake war service.

Tom Wardle in his letter was urging that the clearing up of these matters should be regarded as a pre-condition of any organisational co-operation between pacifists and Communists.

For ourselves we have not urged this. What we have urged is that every pacifist must clearly feel a primary loyalty and concern for those who think and act like him in other lands. And that this requires that he shall not willingly permit himself to be used against them by those who are their adversaries, and that any pacifist, therefore, who co-operates in the work of the World Peace Council or, say, the British Peace Committee cannot decently do so without feeling under obligation to raise this matter.

Letter from U.S.A. by A. J. Muste

Eisenhower regime the "unleashing" of Chiang and his forces, which so alarmed America's European allies?

But who decides that the Tachens shall be evacuated by Chiang? Clearly, it is Washington, which will also decide whether Quemoy is or is not to be defended. It is highly doubtful whether the mass of Formosans have any genuine loyalty toward Chiang and fairly certain that once his own troops and retainers become convinced that they are never going back to the mainland, their morale will be gone and, unless the US prevents it, they will surrender Formosa to Mao—Chiang presumably receiving asylum over here.

Because of this, the US for the present keeps up the thesis that evacuation of the Tachens is a strategic retreat, one day the mainland will be re-conquered and so on. And who will determine whether in the end Formosa itself will be defended? Washington, of course, and Washington does not see—or purports not to see—that there is anything undemocratic or imperialistic about all this.

Barbara Castle and the US bases

Finally, another comment on the failure of Labour and Socialist Parties to face realities and make clean cut decisions in matters relating to war and the power struggle.

I remember that when I interviewed him last summer, Michael Foot, MP, mentioned that the Bevanites had given some consideration to the proposition that the US be told it

could no longer have air force bases in Great Britain.

I expressed the earnest hope that the British government would do just that—it would be good for us and for Britain both—and that the Left Wing of the Labour Party at least, if not the Labour Party itself, would advocate this sensible course.

Now I read that one of Michael Foot's colleagues, Mrs. Barbara Castle, MP, has demanded as "a minimum we are entitled to ask if American bases are to remain in this country," that Britain be consulted by the US in the event of the latter employing nuclear weapons in any conflict in the Pacific area.

Are we to infer that if Britain has been "consulted" and the US then uses nuclear weapons, this will make atom bombing less reprehensible to retaliatory attack? Or does Mrs. Castle mean that Britain should adopt a policy of forever refusing assent to the use of nuclear weapons?

If so, it would be much better for Britain to say so frankly and to act on it, in other words, ask the US to take its men and equipment out of Britain.

If the bases and forces remain, one day they will be used.

If Britain were to withdraw from the atomic war business, if necessary unilaterally, this would have an electrifying effect as the British National Peace Council and a number of leading personalities correctly pointed out a few months ago.

Being "neither hot nor cold" in this matter seems to me as ignoble as it is impractical.

DICTATORSHIP BY INCINERATOR

Reprinted from Zion's Herald, a religious weekly published in the US, January 19, 1955.

The Boston Post published last week a shocking revelation.

According to two articles by Thomas F. Downey (January 13 and 14), Russia and other Iron Curtain countries are sending tons of Red propaganda to New Englanders through the mails. It has reached a volume of some 50 sacks of mail a day, or about 150,000 sacks a year.

But that is not the shocking aspect of the Post's announcement; it is only what we might expect as a result of the state of cold war we have been through.

The shocking thing is that most of this mail never reaches the individuals and organizations it is addressed to. The great bulk of it is being thrown into the incinerator by special customs agents working at the South Postal Annex in Boston.

It is done, so the Post says, under Code Title 18, customs' division of restricted merchandise. Magazines and other publications on predetermined lists are automatically destroyed by customs men. Other publications are analyzed for propaganda or subversion as they come along, and are consigned to the incinerator if they do not qualify under whatever norms the customs men are using.

A few research centers are allowed to receive their so-called Red mailings in order to investigate what goes on behind the Iron Curtain. But the rest of the public is being subjected to bureaucratic dictatorship over their minds. They may not read, analyze, and judge for themselves. They are protected by Uncle Sam's incinerator.

That is where our freedom goes.

FORMOSA: U.S. TOLD "NO SUPPORT FROM BRITAIN"

THE Political Committee of the London Co-operative Society, in a resolution which they forwarded to their own National Committee and to the US Ambassador in the UK, have called upon Her Majesty's Government to advise the Americans that they cannot count on any support from Great Britain, if they persist in their plan to intervene on behalf of Chiang Kai-shek.

It recalled that both the British and American Governments had publicly accepted Formosa as part of China, and that the Chinese Government had offered amnesty to all Chiang Kai-shek's forces—with the exception of the leader himself.

"In these circumstances," concluded the resolution, "we call for the withdrawal of American forces as a step toward peace."

Quotes

"This great sweep by 4,000 British and African troops is now beginning to trap terrorist gangs in the Aberdare Forest."

"The Governor believes that the terrorists may now be softened up sufficiently to have taught them the first point in his overall policy—that nothing is to be achieved in this colony by violence."

—DAILY MAIL, January 17, 1955.

A few days ago the Daily Herald listed the number of troops in the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe. Russia has 4,750,000 soldiers, sailors and airmen, the other countries 1,187,000, making a total of 5,937,000.

What about the West? According to the New York Herald Tribune in a report on the "Five Years of NATO," it has 6,985,000 troops under arms.

America supplies the bulk—3,437,000, Britain 956,000, France 927,000. The rest is made up from the other ten NATO countries.

—JOHN KERR, Tribune, Dec. 3, 1954.

SPECIAL for NEW ENGLANDERS

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JUNE 12-19

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● Quaker leaders will include: Cecil Hinshaw, just returned from a round-the-world trip; William Tennyson, British Quaker who has worked in India; Norman Whitney, Professor at Syracuse University; Milton Mayer, author and lecturer; Raymond Wilson, Friends Committee on National Legislation. The programme is designed to provide an unhurried, relaxed pace. Food is excellent—plenty of recreation.

Write now for further detailed information regarding arrangements, cost and registration to:

Russell Johnson, Peace Section, AMERICAN FRIENDS SERVICE COMMITTEE, 130 Brattle Street, Cambridge 38, Massachusetts

SCIENTIST TELLS CO TRIBUNAL

"My conscience forbids me to support military service"

"I HAVE felt compelled to register as a conscientious objector because I cannot deny my responsibility as an individual for the use of the atomic bomb and napalm, for modern scientific research into bacterial warfare and guided missiles and all the other ghastly weapons which mankind is feverishly engaged upon producing in order to hasten the apocalyptic end of humanity."

"The basis of my belief is that war, possibly the lesser evil in the past, cannot be anything but the greatest possible evil in the future, and so my conscience forbids me to support, by means of military service, the present policy of my own country in this matter."

This was part of the statement of David Arthur Brown, 25, who was granted conditional exemption from military service at the Fulham Tribunal for COs last month.

Although engaged in scientific research which would have possibly automatically exempted him from the call-up, David Brown preferred to register as a CO, since he felt he could not take part in the production of any diabolical weapons.

To avoid genocide

He told the Tribunal that his basic belief led him to state "that some positive action must be taken in order to avoid the human genocide into which the world is drifting, owing to the lack of understanding by mankind of the magnitude of its fate in war."

His statement continued:

"I feel that any constructive and social use of my scientific knowledge is some small contribution to a solution of the whole problem, whether it consists of medical research in Britain or technical work in an undeveloped country. Moreover, as scientists it is our duty to publicise to the whole world the destructiveness and misery of modern war, and to emphasise the merits that constructive science can bring."

"I hope that this statement gives some idea of the fact that I object to military service out of a sense of social responsibility but that this responsibility is impelled by my conscience, and in this matter my conscience is absolutely firm and sincere—I cannot participate in any way in any action which will hasten the approaching holocaust."

Apparently, David Brown has studied the problem of military service from every angle, but ultimately found it incompatible with his love of humanity.

Commenting on this, David Brown told Peace News, "I think that the more scientists who appear before the Tribunal, whether they are influenced by such bodies as Science for Peace or not, the more the State will recognise the true moral dilemma which scientists feel—even if not avowed pacifists."

BRIEFLY . . .

Forty-five members of the Des Moines (US), Pharmacists Association have pledged to clear their drugstores of all "weird, horror and sex type" comics. Two magazine distributing agencies are co-operating, and non-member druggists have been asked to help in the clean-up campaign.

Elfan Rees, adviser on refugee affairs to the World Council of Churches said at a Resettlement Conference in Chicago recently that the total number of refugees is mounting by 18,000 a month. The situation, he said, was like "trying to empty a bathtub of tub water with a cup and being unable to turn off the taps."

PEOPLE AND PLACES

By Hugh Brock

PEACE POSTERS IN NIGERIA

R. M. BURKE who contributes an article elsewhere in this issue is doing a fine piece of work in Nigeria.

As he travels to and fro across Nigeria visiting schools he carries with him as plentiful supply of peace literature and Quaker peace posters as his personal funds permit.

"I find there is great scarcity of peace literature here," he writes. "As the incomes of most of the people are still small, they cannot afford to pay for much. Many workers in Nigeria still receive salaries of less than £3 per month, and some have less than £2. They cannot afford to buy many books or periodicals."

He found the poster "Remember! Money spent on Guns and Bombers cannot be spent again on Houses and Schools," issued by the Northern Friends Peace Board very much appreciated at the schools he visits. Another 50 are on their way out to him.

He also found the Fellowship of Reconciliation leaflet "Will you say 'Yes' or 'No' to war," very popular.

He would be very grateful for back numbers of Peace News, Reconciliation, and One World, and also simple leaflets approaching the question of peace from the Christian angle for free distribution in the schools.

They should be addressed to Mr. R. M. Burke, St. Paul's College, Awka, Nigeria.

ON THE GOLD COAST

ALSO out in West Africa is Bill Sutherland, one of the four American pacifists who attempted a cycle ride to Moscow several years ago.

He has brought a War Resisters Group into

David Brown is a B.Sc. (attained for Special Chemistry, London University, 1950); Doctor of Philosophy (for research work culminating in 1953), and prior to the Tribunal, was engaged in further research at Cambridge. He is now employed in a hospital.

Boys' Parliament voted down conscription

... AND THE CALGARY HERALD DIDN'T LIKE IT

The Calgary Herald apparently wants Canada to bring in conscription, something the Canadians have firmly rejected so far. Here is their comment after boys' parliament voted down a resolution in favour of the call-up recently.

THE Alberta Tuxis Boys' Parliament, meeting in Calgary, has voted down a resolution favouring conscription in Canada.

The resolution and the result of the voting probably will be sent to the Minister of Defence "to let the Government know where Alberta youth stood on the conscription issue."

In the first place, this is a shattering piece of presumption. The Tuxis Boys' Parliament represents nobody but itself, thank goodness, and we would suggest that it bear this firmly in mind.

It is just possible that there are other young men in this province with more intelligence and a better-developed sense of responsibility than those of the Tuxis Boys' Parliament.

We most certainly hope so.

In the second place, it is a waste of energy sending this distasteful thing to Ottawa.

The government there needs no wishy-washy reinforcing in its similarly spineless stand on the same issue.

Contribution to the defeat of the resolution was the remarkable performance of a young man from Calgary, Tom Gardner, who holds the rank of deputy premier in the present "parliament."

Conscription, he said, was against the principles of democracy and against God's will.

It broke one of the Ten Commandments, he said, and then added the astonishing statement that "You can't serve Christ and your country also."

Radio and TV covered Canada's "No German Army" lobby

From an Ottawa Correspondent
A "FREE VOTE" of MPs in the Canadian House of Commons would show great numbers opposed to the rearming of Germany, Dr. James Endicott, Chairman of the Canadian Peace Congress declared last month.

He made his statement after 750 delegates had taken part in two days of lobbying in which over 100 MPs were interviewed.

Radio and TV gave the lobby—the largest since 1,000 farmers marched to Ottawa in 1917—full coverage, but the Press gave it the "silent treatment."

being at Akropong, Gold Coast and they are exploring the possibilities of an educational system along the lines of Gandhi's basic education.

There's no doubt that the WRI is well established there. Bill has married a local girl and they have a daughter!

TRIBUTE TO SCHWEITZER

DR. HOMER A. JACK, of Evanston, Illinois, USA, tells me that he was delighted with the special issue of Peace News devoted to Schweitzer's 80th birthday.

He has edited the volume of 21 tributes dedicated to Dr. Albert Schweitzer printed by a few of Dr. Schweitzer's friends for presentation to him on his 80th birthday.

Entitled, "To Albert Schweitzer: A Festschrift Commemorating His 80th Birthday," it contains essays by Albert Einstein, Norman Cousins, Bishop G. Bromley Oxnam, Gerald Heard, Allan Hunter, Adlai Stevenson, President Heuse, of West Germany, Vice-President Radhakrishnan, of India, and others.

The 179-page volume also includes the full text of two recent speeches by Dr. Schweitzer, including his acceptance of the Nobel Peace Prize, and an extended bibliography. Privately printed in an edition limited to 600 copies, the volume is available at \$5.00 postpaid, with half the purchase price going to the 80th birthday fund of Dr. Schweitzer's hospital.

American readers can order from Friends of Albert Schweitzer, 1405 Chicago Avenue, Evanston, Illinois, USA. Sterling area readers can obtain copies through Housmans Bookshop £2 post free.

ALL TOGETHER

DETERMINED opposition to war, and activity in constructive peacemaking: this it is that binds the readership of Peace News into a unique international movement which has kept the paper in existence through nineteen stormy years. Just what a mixed group they are, once the binding is removed, is shown all too clearly by the letters which accompany contributions to the Peace News Fund.

"Please find enclosed £1 in gratitude to a CO who helped another CO to become a CO."

"Here's half my winnings from the football pool this week."

Another contributor to the Fund sends a detailed account of his winnings (and losses) at the dogs. He was in hand at the end of his evening's entertainment and sent us the proceeds.

A mixed bunch all right, but their hearts are in the right place.

People seeking a common goal, approaching it from different angles, all at various stages along the road. The letters we receive from contributors to the fund are as much an inspiration as the money that accompanies them. Warmth and solidarity is always there.

HUGH BROCK.

Contributions since Feb. 11: £19 2s. 5d. Total since Jan 1: £175 9s. 6d.

Please make cheques, etc., payable to Peace News Ltd., and address them to Lady Clare Annesley, Joint Treasurer, Peace News, 3 Blackstock Rd., N.4.

The facts about international control of atomic energy

PROFESSOR KATHLEEN LONSDALE has compiled a chronology of the negotiations for the international control of atomic energy, commencing in June, 1945.

Her report to September 30, 1954, appeared in the November, 1954, issue of Atomic Science.



Prof. KATHLEEN LONSDALE, FRS

tists' Journal, but the Journal hopes to publish supplements from time to time as necessary.

Friends Peace Committee have made a reprint of the chronology, and are publishing it in pamphlet form, price 1s.

Professor Lonsdale is a Quaker and Peace Pledge Union sponsor.

Apart from the step-by-step history of the negotiations to date, this article points out, that, contrary to the lulling woodings of civil defence leaders, those with higher authority, such as Field-Marshal Montgomery, believe that if war came atomic weapons would be used at the outbreak.

Professor Lonsdale's chronology is raw truth containing facts which are vital to this age.

Greetings, delivered in the Baptist Church in Moscow by Herman Bakman, a Swedish Quaker, were contained in the January issue of the Russian Baptists' journal, "Brastky Vyestnik" (Brotherly Messenger).

ON CATHOLIC PRINCIPLES PAX OPPOSES WAR AND CONSCRIPTION

It is convenient to blame the Pope for the cowardice of his faithful people.

—F. STRATMANN, O.P. ROUTES DE LA PAIX. NOV. 1953.

For information and advice write to: The Secretary, Pax, 29 Great James St. London, W.C.1

What is Welsh Nationalism?

If you are for peace you are for national freedom. Send for

"What is Welsh Nationalism?" by H. W. J. Edwards 6d (x14d)

"Historical Basis of Welsh Nationalism" Ed. D. Myrdal Lloyd 7s 6d (x14d)

And List of Publications

PLAID CYMRU (Welsh Party) OFFICES 8 Queen Street Cardiff

"ENTERING THE REALM OF THE

Atomic tests a "long range danger to human race"

ALMOST a year ago, on March 1, 1954, the test-explosion of a Hydrogen bomb by the US Atomic Energy Commission was announced.

Ten days later the AEC issued a second announcement that 236 Marshall Islanders "transported from neighbouring atolls to Kwajalein Island according to plans as a precautionary measure," had been "unexpectedly exposed to radiation."

Five days later news came from Tokio that the entire crew of the fishing vessel Fukuryu Maru had radiation sickness in greater or lesser degree, having been 80

The closer the boat approached the Bikini area, the greater was the radio-active contamination. Here many fish were still highly radio-active even in mid-June. From the liver of a bonito caught on June 19, a radio-activity of 48,000 counts per minute per gramme was detected. Plankton, salpa saggitta and copepoda were also radio-active.

The United States Atomic Energy Commission has since disclosed that about 7,000 square miles were contaminated by deadly radio-activity as a consequence of the March 1, 1954 explosion. It comments that the lives of all people in an area 140 miles by 20 miles can be threatened by radio-active fall-out from such a blast.

Professor Alexander Haddow, Director of the Chester Beatty Research Institute, Royal Cancer Hospital, had the previous year expressed the anxieties of many scientists at the hazards facing mankind if tests continued in a letter to The Times on Sept. 12, 1953. Shortly before the test explosion of a British atomic weapon at the Woomera Rocket Range in Australia he wrote:

"The general question of the biological hazards of atomic energy was considered at

ATOM BOMB

EVEN the comparatively insignificant Hiroshima-type bomb, equivalent to 20,000 tons of conventional military explosive, is capable of vapourising nearly 400 tons of soil if exploded so near the ground that only five per cent of the energy released is used for this purpose.

When such bombs are exploded near seawater they induce a particularly dangerous form of radio-activity in the sodium and chlorine of the salt present. In large explosions of the hydrogen type this might present a very considerable hazard.

—Leonard Bertin, Daily Telegraph Science Correspondent.

miles east of Bikini atoll and 20 miles outside the restricted area when the explosion occurred. Later in the year one of the crew was to die.

The warning area was expanded after the explosion of March 1 to a circle of 450 miles radius, and it was subsequently announced that on March 26 and April 6 further bombs were exploded.

The fish which were brought back by the "Fukuryu-Maru" were found to be emitting strong radiation from the skin and much less strong radiation from the internal organs, but the fish which have been caught subsequently have been found to be emitting stronger radiations from the internal organs than from the skin.

The area in which radio-active fish were caught expanded generally. In mid-May it was found that some of the fish caught more than 1,800 miles north-west of Bikini were strongly contaminated. Many of the boats working in the South Pacific during the period of the H-bomb tests were also found to be contaminated with radio-active dusts to a greater or lesser extent. Some of the crew of these boats had subnormal leucocyte counts and were advised to leave the boats and rest.

7,000 square miles of deadly radio-activity

On May 15, the "Shunkotsumaru", a Japanese radiation survey boat, was sent by the government to the South Pacific to find safe fishing grounds for fishermen. It returned to Japan on July 4.

The survey showed persisting radio-active contamination was strongest in the north equatorial current, next in the equatorial counter-current and much the least in the south equatorial current.

Quakerism

is seeking a New Experience, a new expressiveness and a Way Out of World Chaos into Brotherhood.

The Friend

The Quaker weekly journal, faces the problem of the Hydrogen Bomb, and records week by week what Friends are thinking and doing towards a solution.

THE FRIEND

is published every Friday, price 6d. It can be ordered from your news-agent. A trial subscription for 13 weeks costs only 8s. 2d. post free from

the publishers

THE FRIEND

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An Unarmed World

by A. Ruth Fry PRICE 3D.
to be obtained from the author at
48, Clarendon Road, W.11,
deals with the necessity for complete disarmament as the only safety, and the alternative uses for the money now wasted on armaments.



DO THEY KNOW WHAT THEY HAVE DONE?

After Britain's first atomic test, in the Monte Bello Islands, Australia. Scientists returning to report that the islands are still "hot," still dangerously radio-active.

concerned, the likelihood of ultimate disaster grows steadily greater."

By the autumn of 1954 warnings from scientists were coming thick and fast:

On Thursday, Oct. 8, Mr. J. S. Loughridge, MD, BSc, FRCS, concluded his address at the opening of the winter session of the Queen's University Medical Faculty in Belfast with these words:

"A high explosive shell will blast a body, but the atomic bomb, acting on the chromosomes of the radio-sensitive germ cells, will blast human heredity itself for all times."

On November 22, Dr. Charles-Noel Martin, the French nuclear physicist said that the H-bombs already exploded might have thrown out of balance the physical conditions of those living near or even those at a distance.

In a paper presented to the French Academy of Sciences he called for a halt to all further

with radio-active matter, he said, were incurable.

American researches on 2,000 doctors and their children had already proved that gamma radiation had increased the rate of childbirth accidents and unhealthy babies.

He told of deformed fish found in the waters of the South-West Pacific, heavily contaminated with atomic radiation. There were also reports that the breeding of race-horses had now been affected in Australia.

Weather and vegetation

Time Magazine for December 10 gives the following summary of the main points made by Professor Martin. He says of an H-bomb explosion:

1. It forms vast amounts of nitric acid out of atmospheric oxygen, nitrogen and moisture. There may be enough of it to acidify the rain over large areas, with adverse effects on vegetation.
2. When exploded on the ground, an H-bomb throws into the air something like one billion tons of pulverised material. Floating for years in the upper atmosphere, the dust may cut the strength of sunlight. It may act as condensation nuclei, stimulating rainfall, and thereby changing the pattern of the winds. Such modifications of climate will not necessarily be good.
3. Neutrons from an H-bomb turn atmospheric nitrogen into large amounts of radio-active carbon-14, whose half-life is 5,600 years. Absorbed by plants, it eventually enters the tissues of animals and humans. Results: unpredictable.
4. An H-bomb raises appreciably the general level of the earth's radio-activity. Even a slight increase is likely to have important genetic effects. Experimental reasons for fearing this outcome, said Martin, are well established.

The US Bulletin of the Atomic Scientists.

COBALT BOMB

THERE exists today the possibility of manufacturing the cobalt bomb if some have not already been prepared and are now in existence. The cobalt bomb is a hydrogen bomb with a cobalt shell. On the explosion this cobalt casing disintegrates in radio-active clouds with consequences even more deadly than those of the hydrogen bomb itself.

Dr. Hahn, director of the Max Planck Institute at the University of Göttingen, Nobel prize-winner for research into uranium, referred in a recent broadcast to the terrible responsibility that falls upon the statesmen who are responsible for the creation of these weapons which, he said, can make it possible for a mad dictator to destroy humanity at the same time as himself.

H-bomb experiments such as those arranged for early this year.

The effects on the human race of contact

RADIO-ACTIVITY IN RAIN

SINCE the US-Soviet tests began, it has been noticed in Japan that there has been an increase in rainfall. Toward the end of March, 1954, a strange dust fell with the rain over the greenhouse area of the Atsumi peninsula. It was first noticed because of the unusual blurring of the panes of the greenhouses.

On further analysis the dust was found to contain such artificial radio-active elements as barium-140 and lanthanum-140.

From the rain which fell on April 17 in Osaka district, a radio-activity of 140 counts per minute per litre of rain water was found, as measured from the residue after complete evaporation, at about 3 cms. from the beta ray counter window 24 hours after sampling. Naturally occurring radio-activity in rain, which is mostly due to disintegration products of radon, has been found by a similar method of measurement to decay rapidly and to be greatly decreased after a few hours; but the radio-activity in the rain which fell on April 17 did not decrease so rapidly and its apparent half-life was one week. From the later analysis of the residue it found that the radio-activity was primarily due to artificial radio-active rare earth elements (yttrium, cerium and lanthanum) and to alkaline earth elements (barium and strontium).

Mid-May, unusually radio-active rain fell all over Japan. In Kyoto, a radio-activity of 86,000 counts per minute per litre was measured from the initial rainfall on May 16 and an average of about 4,000 counts per minute per litre was obtained from the total 7.2 mm. of rain which fell on May 17; this radio-activity was again due to artificial elements (zirconium-95, niobium-95, strontium-89,

barium-140). In Osaka the radio-activity was about 2,100 counts per minute per litre without the correction for self-absorption, as an average for the whole 7 mm. of rain which fell on May 17.

Since radio-activity in rain is measured from the residue after complete evaporation, some of the radio-active elements may have escaped at the time of evaporation, and the radio-activity may, therefore, have been underestimated.

As a general tendency the radio-activity of the rain from May 16 to May 20 was much stronger along the Pacific Coast than along the sea-coast of Japan facing Siberia and much stronger in the south than in the north. The high pressure front of the Ogasawara air mass in the Pacific had moved towards the Japanese mainland during the period of unusually high radio-active rainfall. After discussions with meteorologists, it was concluded that the radio-active rainfall all over Japan was primarily due to atomic or hydrogen bomb explosions in the South Pacific.

Highly radio-active rain, giving counts of up to 5,500 per litre, which fell on Japan in September and October was believed, according to The Times, Nov. 5, 1954, to have been derived from test explosions carried out by the Soviet Union in the Arctic.

Following the unusually radio-active rainfall it was found, in various parts of Japan, that plants, vegetables, and milk were also contaminated.

Some of the persons who had been drinking unfiltered rain water (the only source of drinking water in many isolated parts of Japan) at the Muroto Promontory Meteorological Station had unusually low leucocyte counts and people were advised not to drink rain water directly.

HYDROGEN BOMB

"THERE have been up to the present ten H-bomb explosions. From my point of view this is nine too many. We have already passed the limit beyond which there is immense danger. It is more than time that men ceased to play at this game: the risks for the future are too great."

—Prof. Charles-Noel Martin, Nov. 22, 1954.

a conference held at the Royal Institution in October, 1950, under the auspices of the Institute of Biology and the Atomic Scientists' Association, with the support of the British Association and of the British Institute of Radiology. At this conference not only were such topics discussed as the biological and medical effects of nuclear radiations but a brave endeavour was made to consider the wider problem of human and scientific responsibility in atomic energy development whether for peace or war.

"In the ensuing three years, events have moved rapidly, in a long series of nuclear explosions not only at Las Vegas but elsewhere. Even if the risks to the local populations concerned may so far be minimal, we must rather bear in mind the possible state of affairs in 50 or 100 years' time, should present trends continue. In this sense the biologist is not only entitled, but bound, to ask how far such nuclear explosions can be continued without some long-lasting deleterious effect, not only locally but even—due to the accumulation of long-lived radio-active nuclides in the atmosphere—on a terrestrial scale.

"The biologist and physicist can only indicate (and have already done so) the nature of certain possible hazards. Even so there can be little confidence that scientific surveillance in detail, even on the level of excellence which obtains in this country, will necessarily prevent fundamental errors in the sphere of policy. It is therefore rather for the statesman to take public opinion very much more into confidence if we are to counter those who believe (no doubt wrongly) that there already exists some kind of conspiracy of silence. In the present lack of public information all things appear equally likely, from virtual absence of perceptible risk in foreseeable time to the possibility that purely military considerations, in one country or another, will override any other advice, however weighty.

Secrecy: "The source of our trouble"

"Clearly the source of our troubles lies in prevalent secrecy, and in what Sir Henry Dale has called 'this lamentable involvement of knowledge, potentially so beneficent, in the secret planning of nations for competitive destruction.' It seems that these nations, in their zeal to preserve themselves in war, may still do more subtle and irreparable damage to humanity at large. Is it possible that the role of science may yet be to convince them, and to lead them through statesmanship to reconciliation? Whether in science or statecraft it would seem this country is better placed than any other to give the leadership which is both required and expected."

After the injury of the Japanese fishermen, Prof. Haddow wrote again to The Times (March 30, 1954):

"Recent events in the Pacific . . . at once bring to an end the notion that the area of danger can have any but relative meaning, and destroy the conception of CD. If we are entering the realm of the incalculable so far as the individual test explosions are

"THE INCALCULABLE"

deprecating the black-out on information that is imposed, speaks of:
"The potentially fateful danger of long-range damage to the hereditary endowment of the human race . . . caused by exposure of whole nations or continents to a weak but widely distributed and persistent radiation to the annual meeting of the British Association for the advancement of Science had warned his hearers on Sept. 1, 1954, that repeated atomic explosions might lead to a degree of general radio-activity which no one could tolerate or escape.
Taking note of Dr. Adrian's warning, the

"RADIATION SICKNESS"

THE dose of radiation received is usually expressed by the product of the intensity of the radiation and its duration. For instance, a person exposed to a radiation of 2,000 counts per minute for 100 minutes receives a dose of 2,000,000 units of radiation.
Unfortunately such radio-active elements as strontium-90 keep emitting radiation for a long time and therefore if even a small amount of radio-active strontium-90 is deposited in bone the total dose of radiation received by the body will in time become substantial.
The symptoms of radiation sickness may, therefore sometimes appear after a long interval.
In Hiroshima, Sumie Yukuhiro, a girl who was four years old at the time of the atomic bombing in 1945 suffered from radiation sickness when she was 11 and died when she was 13 years of age; that is nine years after the bomb was dropped.
The radiation emitted from some substances rapidly decreases and with some radio-active elements the intensity of radiation is reduced to a half in a few hours or even minutes. With such elements even if they are deposited in the bone, there may be little danger; but with strontium-90 the intensity of radiation does not decrease to one-half for 20 years.
The radio-active material produced at the time of the explosion of an atomic or hydrogen bomb is a mixture of various radio-active elements of different half-lives—some short, some long. (Half-life is time taken for the intensity of radiation to be reduced by half).
Therefore, even if the radio-activity is strong immediately after the explosion, the intensity of radiation produced will decrease rapidly; but as time goes on the remaining radio-activity will be mainly due to the radio-active elements of longer half-life. These elements may be taken into the body with food and, even if the amount ingested in any one day is small, the amount deposited in bone will gradually increase until eventually a dangerous dose may be built up a long time after the original explosion.

Chairman and other officers of the National Peace Council called, in a letter to The Times on Dec. 30 for an attempt to regulate peaceful atomic explosions. The letter read:
The meeting of the North Atlantic Treaty Organisation has compelled the public to consider whether the use of nuclear weapons should not be subject to prior political concurrence. Whilst ourselves being very strongly of the opinion that the final decision to use such weapons should remain in political hands, we should like to take this opportunity of pointing to the wider issues of control of which this is only a particular instance.
A little while ago there were reports of the Russian intention to use atomic explosions to divert the use of two rivers into the

By way of contrast

A Rural-development worker reports from Nigeria

"YOU missionaries came to our country, Nigeria, and told us that Jesus Christ was the Prince of Peace, and that if we followed His teaching we should all love one another, and live together in harmony, and brotherhood, and not fight any more. Why is it then that European countries, which have known about Christ's teaching for so long, have continued to go to war with one another, and to kill women and children as well as men?"

This was one of the first questions which was put to me by a group of young Nigerian school teachers, a short time after I came to this country, and many similar questions have been put to me during the past four years.

These questions often lead to very useful discussions on the evils of War, the teaching of Jesus Christ on peace, and on the practical steps which we can now take to promote world peace, and to prevent war.

I find that the majority of young educated Nigerians are very interested in this subject,

By R. M. BURKE
A note on the writer appears in People and Places, page three.

and are glad to meet someone who is willing to discuss it with them, and to make practical suggestions.

While I have occasional opportunities for discussions with people of many different occupations, those whom I am able to meet most frequently are school teachers and students.

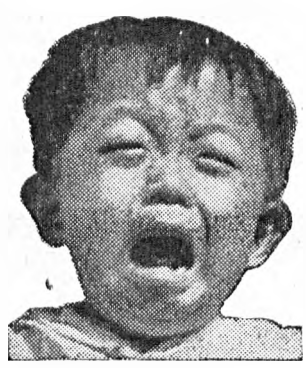
This is because my work is Eastern Nigeria includes the visiting of over 200 schools and colleges. These are scattered over a very large area—over 200 miles from north to south and over 150 miles from east to west—and as I have a good deal of other work to do, I can only visit each school about once in two years.
As a Church Missionary Society Missionary,



A happy task. These pupils at Okrika Grammar School, Nigeria, like yams. With the thought of things to come they watch carefully the method of tying them up in sticks to prevent rotting.
—CMS picture.

100,000 CHILDREN EACH NEED 7/6 NOW

BEFORE IT IS TOO LATE AND THEY DIE FROM HUNGER OR DISEASE



JUST ONE YOU CAN HELP!

"9,000,000 displaced persons and refugees
2,000,000 under 18 years of age
100,000 young children separated from all relatives, and between 40,000 and 50,000 of these on the streets.
So reads the tale of human misery—the aftermath of War in Korea.

Act NOW—Delay may cost life!

7/6 feeds, clothes and maintains for one week a child like Pak Soo Chul, a tiny two year old suffering from tuberculosis.
31/- sustains one child for a whole month.

The same story repeats itself in other parts of the world—among Arab refugees in the Near East, in Greece where a relief worker recently wrote "... one thirteen-year-old boy ... I took him to give him something to eat and never have I seen a child eat as he did—like a hungry desperate little animal ..."

Donations gratefully acknowledged by the Hon. Treasurer (Sir Alan W. Pim). Please send to Pax Relief, Barclays Bank, The Old Bank, High Street, Oxford.

DISCARDED CLOTHING still urgently required, especially for men and boys. Send any wearable garments now—even if in need of repair—to Oxford/Pax, c/o Davies Turner & Co., 50a Bourne St., London, S.W.1.

OXFORD COMMITTEE FOR FAMINE RELIEF

(Regd. War Charities Act, 1940)

SUPPORTERS INCLUDE: Miss Vera Brittain, Dame Sybil Thorndike, Laurence Housman, Sir Malcolm Sargent.



Aral Sea. Whatever its incidental purpose, clearly the principal aim of such explosions would be to aid civil engineering. Consequently, it is not unreasonable to foresee the multiplication of such peaceful explosions in the future, particularly where large schemes of civil engineering are being undertaken to continents hitherto underdeveloped.

Peace-time explosions must be regulated

Recently Dr. Adrian gave a warning of the danger of the atmosphere becoming radio-actively "over-charged." The consequences of such an occurrence are not lightly to be contemplated in view of the experience of the Japanese, where a long drawn out illness, followed by death has been only one result of contamination by radio-active fall-out (sterility, a high proportion of physically abnormal births, and even diseases of crops have also been noted).

Consequently, we feel it imperative that an attempt should be made to regulate by agreement in peace-time at least the number and type of atomic explosions, whatever their purpose. The appropriate body to exercise control under an agreement of this kind would obviously be the United Nations Organisation, through the Atomic Energy Pool which is now under discussion.

It was signed by Reginald Sorensen, Chairman, National Peace Council; James L. Henderson, Chairman, Executive Committee; Darwen, Honorary Treasurer; Eric Baker, General Secretary.



A lesson in crop rotation for pupils at Christ's School, Ado Ekiti, Nigeria.
CMS Film Unit picture.

reasons for asking my advice on this matter is that many of them had heard that I was a member of Parliament in the Republic of Ireland and also a Member of a County Council for eight years before coming to Nigeria as a CMS Missionary.

The schools which I visit are mostly primary, but I have also visited a few Secondary Schools and Teachers Training Colleges.

Most of the Primary Schools now have a small school library, but it is usually very small, because they cannot afford to buy many books. One of their great needs is an increasing supply of suitable small books, and booklets.

Although I am a layman I have had the privilege of preaching in over 100 different churches in Eastern Nigeria, during the past four years, for clergy are scarce here, and this gives me further opportunities of explaining some of the practical applications of Christ's teaching that we should all love one another and be peacemakers.

Most of the schools which I visit contain over 300 pupils, and some have over 500, so in a little over two-and-a-half years of school visiting I have had the pleasure of meeting over 2,000 Nigerian school teachers and over 60,000 boys and girls.

This is a great privilege and opportunity, for the future of Nigeria, and every other country, will depend, to a large extent, on how many of the rising generation become real Christian citizens, who will try to follow Christ's teaching to love one another.

Perhaps the people of West Africa may yet set an example to the rest of the world, by their work for justice, brotherhood and peace.

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Talking of books...

Magnificent tradition

By Robert Greacen

THERE are many ways of acquiring books other than the obvious one of walking into a bookshop—or, better still, sending a cheque or Postal Order to Housmans—and asking for whatever title you happen to fancy. As an inveterate acquirer of books, I have explored most methods, orthodox and not so orthodox, though I am happy to say that all of them to date have been strictly legal.

A few years ago, when I was working for an organisation devoted to international affairs, I was fortunate enough to rescue for my own library a number of books that otherwise would have reached a waste paper merchant.

One of these volumes, apparently no longer in great demand by borrowers, was *WE DID NOT FIGHT*, edited by Julian Bell and introduced by Canon H. R. L. ("Dick") Sheppard. It was issued in 1935 by Cobden-Sanderson, a firm that is no longer in existence. I understand that this excellent symposium is obtainable on loan from Dick Sheppard House and probably from many public and other libraries.

Siegfried Sassoon's satiric poem, "Asking For It," informally prefaces the collection. Here is the first of his three memorably caustic verses:

Lord God whose mercy guards the virgin
jungle;
Lord God, whose fields with dragon's
teeth are farmed;
Lord God of blockheads, bombing-planes,
and bungle;
Assist us to be adequately armed.

Then one turns to Dick Sheppard's moving foreword in which the opening sentence consists of these arresting words:

"I was not a pacifist in the first year of war: as a professing Christian I ought to have been."

Who could fail to respond to so noble a confession? Dick Sheppard warns pacifists not to forget that "many of our opponents are actuated by very noble motives" and that we ought to meet objections "with all possible charity and goodwill." What a good and great person Dick Sheppard must have been!

The sub-title of *WE DID NOT FIGHT* is "1914-18 Experiences of War Resisters" and many of the contributors were not pacifists in the sense in which we normally use the word. Harry Pollitt, for instance, was no more a pacifist then than he is now, although he strenuously opposed the First World War.

As one might expect, the most logical and well-argued, though not the most impressive, essay is Bertrand Russell's "Some Psychological Difficulties of Pacifism in War Time." He argues for a strictly logical approach to war, and pleads for "intellectual sobriety." Pacifists and non-pacifists alike are much too emotional for Bertrand Russell. His own writing is saved from aridity by his rare quality of mind.

Among the other contributions there is one which outlines the course of the ill-fated Peace Ship financed by Henry Ford—a perfectly sensible attempt to stop the slaughter that was laughed to death by the Allied press.

While the treatment of COs in Britain during the 1914-18 War was in general bad, both officially and unofficially, their treatment in other European countries was outrageous. We learn in *WE DID NOT FIGHT* of an Austrian who was hanged for distributing an anti-war poem. Yet in every country there were always a few people ready to accept any punishment, even death itself, rather than succumb to the prevailing war hysteria.

In his introduction Julian Bell asks this important question: "What is there to show for the efforts of the conscientious objectors, the Christians, humanitarians and rationalists?" And he answers it in these words: "Principally, I feel, a magnificent tradition of personal integrity and intellectual courage." As we know, that tradition—built up at a great price—was strengthened and enriched by those who refused to fight in World War II.

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DELINQUENCY-AND THE CALL-UP

By Esme Wynne-Tyson

It will only be a bigger, better and, happily legalised, thrill.

This brings us to the same problem in Britain where judges, social workers and psychologists are continually blaming the parents and their upbringing for the lawlessness of their children.

How do they expect the unfortunate parents of children doomed to conscription into the murder business to bring them up?

If they seek to develop in them a true Christian conscience which takes the Golden Rule and the Sixth Commandment seriously, the result must be a generation of conscientious objectors or an army which, when on the battle-field, refuses to kill. Surely this is a very anti-social upbringing, besides being a treacherous betrayal of the younger generation by asking them to obey a rule of life which the State will not permit them to follow?

A time and a place for weapons!



A familiar scene in every British prison. Officers make a search for scissors, knives, razor blades and other instruments every time a working party comes into the prison centre. This photograph was taken in Strangeways Prison.

PICTURE POST PHOTO BY BERT HARDY.

Cult of violence

The cult of violence that is sweeping the USA, and is clearly reflected in this typical middle-class publication—the Post—in its articles, stories and illustrations wherein even the heroines are as tough and trigger-happy as the Russian gun-molls, is naturally adopted by children brought up on horror comics, science magazines and newspaper reports of the power of hydrogen and cobalt bombs.

The juvenile can hardly be blamed for going into training for the enforced occupation which lies before him euphemistically described as "induction into the services." Popular education is sufficient for even teenagers to be able to translate that into "Training for Massacre and Total War," and since Total War includes all crimes the juveniles of America of this generation are accustoming themselves to these requirements in advance, a fact for which their elders should surely be grateful. Teen-agers, who murder old and drunken men for a "thrill" will not, like their more ethical forbears, presumably have that squeamishness the generals so deplore about turning a machine gun on to human beings or burning their fellow creatures alive.

LETTERS

Quakers and Peace

READERS of B. J. Over's letter (February 4) dealing with, in part, the attitude of Quakers to the First World War may be interested in the following extract from THE STORY OF QUAKERISM by Elfrida Vipont (Bannisdale Press):

"There was no wavering in the upholding of the Peace Testimony, though the convictions which had led some young men Friends to volunteer in 1914 were respected. When London Yearly Meeting gathered in 1915 for the first time since the declaration of war, the thousand Friends who attended were all deeply aware of the historic significance of the occasion."

"The Minute passed concerning the Peace Testimony was worthy of the occasion, which called it forth. 'We recognize humbly that it has not been as effectively presented as it should have been and that there is an urgent call to be more faithful and to meet fearlessly the unprecedented challenge of today. The Testimony must be a reality in our own lives, and we must seek to use every opportunity to deliver a message which shall be living and powerful, and which shall cultivate the spirit of love in every relation of life, a love which shall find expression in service and sacrifice for others.'"

The Friends who accepted this minute and reaffirmed their testimony against all war, knew what it might involve. One of the Quaker MPs, J. Allen Baker, warned that conscription was on the way. The Military Service Act was passed in January, 1916, and an Adjournment of Yearly Meeting was held so that the position might be considered. Many young Friends of military age were present and all set their faces against compromise or the acceptance of any privilege for themselves as Quakers which was not freely offered to others maintaining a similar conscientious objection. The attitude of older Friends was nobly voiced by William Littleboy: "We cannot stand beside you in the forefront of the battle, but we are with you heart and soul."

On page 253 Elfrida Vipont writes:

"When the Military Service Act came into force, many Friends of military age were already engaged in relief work of various kinds, so that the number of those affected by it was not so great as might otherwise have been the case. Over eleven hundred Friends and attenders applied for exemption as conscientious objectors, and two hundred and seventy-nine were imprisoned, of whom a hundred and forty-two were 'Absolutists'..."

An American Friend, Harold Chance, in a little volume entitled TRADITION AND CHALLENGE (1951) writes: "When the First World War came, English Friends were the first Quakers affected. A section of the Society who felt that the conflict represented the struggle of Light against Darkness desired a temporary abandonment of the Peace Testimony. But at London Yearly Meeting in 1915, it was decided that no exception should be made to the peace principles of Friends, and that these principles should govern their conduct as a Society."

NORMAN LEVERITT.

Spalding Leics.

Pacifists and Communists

AS a rule I feel that to disagree with Dr. Alex. Comfort is to take a serious risk of being wrong, but his letter (Peace News February 4) baffles me.

He thinks it is "sensible," as a matter of tactics, for pacifists to keep out of the Communist-inspired peace movement lest they should seem to be supporting Soviet foreign policy which he suggests is the main concern of this organisation.

Yet he sees no objection to pacifists working with Communists "over limited issues." This is precisely what non-Communists in the World Council of Peace and the British Peace Committee are trying to do: they are working with Communists over the single issue of peace and they support Soviet policy in so far as it seems to them to be serving the cause of peace.

Most pacifists, I suppose, believe that Soviet policy in relation to German rearmament, China, Formosa and the use of the H-bomb is less dangerous to peace than the policy of the USA. On these "limited issues" pacifists and Communists can work together.

If it should appear that Soviet foreign policy includes plans for invading India or Western Europe, or establishing bombing bases in the Isle of Man, or taking control of Eire on the ground that it is essential to the security of the USSR then, no doubt, pacifists in the World Peace Movement would have to reconsider their position.

So far, however, I know of nothing in Soviet foreign policy from which I must, as a pacifist, dissociate myself in order to preserve the virginal whiteness of my pacifist nightgown.

True the rulers of Russia believe in the policy of armed strength, but so do the rulers of every country in the world and so also, far more inexcusably, do the Archbishops of Canterbury and York. English pacifists do not feel it necessary on these grounds to renounce their citizenship or to separate themselves from the Church.

Tom Wardle goes one better than Dr. Comfort. It is not only the Communists' foreign policy but their domestic policy which in his view makes co-operation by pacifists out of the question.

When tribunals for conscientious objectors are set up in Moscow and Peace News has an office in Peking, then, and not till then, should pacifists sit on committees with Professor Bernal and Mr. Theodore Harris and discuss measures for reducing world tensions.

KENNETH RAWLINGS.

Lewes.

IF Miss Morrison has changed the subject of the correspondence, to which this will be my last contribution, she can hardly complain if I have entirely missed her point. I am again entirely in agreement with her last paragraph, but this correspondence is not concerned with banning the bomb, nor even with the much more urgent question of German rearmament: my original letter was called forth by the statements in Peace News that we could not and should not co-operate with other peace organisations, in particular the British Peace Committee and the world peace movement.

(Rev.) GEOFFREY P. T. PAGET KING.

18 Aberdeen Rd., Highbury.

[More Letters on page 7]

The alternative is to bring them up on materialism and science worship which will make them good button pushers and ensure their ready sacrifice of compassion to curiosity. This is certainly the right upbringing for an age of scientific butchery, but we must not, in that case, complain if our robots go in for amateur experimentation in those always difficult adolescent years while they wait for the call-up which will enable them to commit their crimes within the protection of militaristic law.

We really must be logical. Either we must have universal conscription and bring up the entire rising generation to take murder in its stride, or we must reject war as a means and reinstate the Christian, or humane, conscience. We cannot do both, and if we decide on the former course, let us at least avoid the hypocritical attitude assumed on both sides of the Atlantic about the delinquencies of our unfortunate, misled, mistaught and misgoverned juveniles.

Whither S-E Asia?

By ROY SHERWOOD

SIX HUNDRED MILLION people—a quarter of all living humanity—have been freed from colonial rule exercised by Britain, France and Holland in South-East Asia as one of the major indirect results of the late war.

But until their various countries have been brought up to a level of political and economic stability high enough to exclude the probability, not to say almost-certainty, of gigantic-scale starvation or bloody upheaval, they will present the world with a far more really difficult problem than the whole lot of questions over which the Western and Soviet alignments are constantly dancing about on the brink of war.

This stark truth is brought home by Tibor Mende's SOUTH-EAST ASIA BETWEEN TWO WORLDS*. A mixture of travel book and study of history and statistics, it conveys a sharply focused picture of the living conditions, the virtues and faults, the disillusionments and aspirations of some of the newcomers to a freedom which has turned out not to be so very free.

For, as the author says in a particularly telling phrase, "the essence of colonialism is the modification of a country's economy and social structure to serve the interests of a stronger power capable of enforcing its will". And there is more than one country among the newly self-governing of the South-East Asian area that cannot be said to have achieved more than a switch-over to submission to economic instead of direct colonialism. Only India and Burma have so far shown the strength to resist the insidious effects on internal policy of the need of external help by means of capital, without too noticeable results of growing mass discontent, or at least deep disappointment, with their own governments. Pakistan's recent history has been full of troubles, and Indonesia's is mainly one of frustration and increasing difficulties.

Exclusive of India, there are 160 million people, none of them with a past conditioning them to either love for the West or for democratic responsibilities, who live in conditions they are no longer ready to accept as their normal fate. Even if the whole wealth of the few privileged among them were appropriated, their countries would still be far too poor to find the capital necessary for better means of production, to raise their living standards to a bearable level. To some extent, yet one which is quite insufficient, the West (mainly the USA) is willing to furnish the required aid—on conditions which, if not always explicitly stated, are always implicitly decisive. Fundamentally, therefore, there is no single reason to justify blind hopes that South-East Asia will want to side with the West.

The dilemma these millions of people face is also a dilemma for the whole world, made abundantly plain by Mr. Mende's book. The section about Indonesia is the longest, followed by one on Burma and one on Pakistan—all three packed with objective information. Even more important, however, is the last part, in which the author considers the problem as a whole and utters a much needed warning.

* Turnstile Press, price 21s. French edition "L'Asie du Sud-Est entre deux mondes" published 1954.

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HARDY.

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French edition, deux mondes

T. E. Lawrence and the RAF

IN this age of debunking no reputation is safe. "Who was King Arthur?" (Third), asked Professor Kenneth Jackson, and at the end of twenty minutes we agreed with the small boy, who at the London Zoo had been staring open-mouthed at the giraffe, and gave the verdict: "Lor' luv a duck! There ain't no sich bloomin' animal!"

The most the Professor could say for our late idol was: "There are many poems in Welsh, the oldest in any European language (save Latin and Greek) where mention is made of Arthur—the poems are antiquarian, a mixture of tradition and legend—there may have been a British leader of that name at the end of the Fifth Century."

Then what of those obliging Monks of Glastonbury who "found" his bones in an ancient coffin which dated his funeral at 1500 BC? True, there was an inscription in monkish Latin, but those Monks were clever chaps; given the inducement they could find anything, from a wishbone to a dinosaur, without turning a hair!

Listening to "The Mint" (Third), a talk by E. M. Forster on the book by T. E. Lawrence, relating experiences in RAF Camps, we shuddered at the effect of the degrading atmosphere upon less tempered minds. If the mothers of Britain want a graphic account of the "nobility of purpose," "manliness" and "brotherhood" harvested from the foul soil of military service which awaits their sons, they can read it from one who enlisted at the age of 35.

Lawrence has been called a "pathological liar," but THE MINT, completed in 1927, allowed ample time for correction or withdrawal before his death in 1935. It remains his considered opinion; a damning "Eighth Pillar of Wisdom."

"The misery during training—nothing beyond punishment . . . They put us into maudlin fear; a little more and we are hospital cases . . . Some exercise their power in a lust of cruelty that can serve neither duty nor use." On Church Parades: "Worship seemed due from us on such a fine morning. The men singing 'The King of love my Shepherd is' with all the joy of their everyday blasphemy, with all the joy of their everyday blasphemy. . . The blind Padre trying to call a response from the dumb."

That Lawrence's "constant quality was compassion . . . his desire to suffer with others" is sheer blarney! His record in Arabia, his gloating accounts of massacres, his ruthless hate were not fruits of compassion. We believe Lawrence was haunted by recurring visions of futile human slaughter. He sought escape, oblivion in anonymity. He had mixed the red mortar of empire builders, but petrol from the RAF could not remove the stain.

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Friday, February 25
HEMEL HEMPSTEAD: 8 p.m.; Adecyfield St. Mod. School, Longlands. Film show. Dick Sheppard, George Lansbury, Stuart Morris, the German film "Kameradschaft." PPU.

Saturday, February 26
LEEDS: 3 p.m.; Swarthmore Educational Settlement, Woodhouse Sq. Annual General Mtg. PPU.

Tuesday, March 1
BIRMINGHAM: 7.15 p.m.; Dick Sheppard Ho., 36 Holloway Head, Stuart Morris, PPU.

Wednesday, March 2
BELFAST: 8 p.m.; Friends Institute, Frederick St. J. Malcolm Nicholson. "Reflections on Pacific Policy." FOR.

HASTINGS: 6.30 p.m.; 78a Norman Rd., St. Leonards. Rev. W. W. Nash, "Vegetarianism; Pacifism and the Christian message." Chairman, Philip Milwood. PPU.

LEIGH-ON-SEA: 8 p.m.; Friends Mtg. Ho., Dundonald Drive. Sybil Harrison. "Security Through Disarmament." PPU and FOR.

LONDON, E.C.4: 5.45 p.m.; Royal Corporation Hall, Fetter Lane. Fleet St. AGM of the No Conscription Council. Refreshments, 5.45 p.m.; business mtg. 6.30 p.m.; address 7.30 p.m. NCC.

Thursday, March 3
LEYTONSTONE: 8 p.m.; Friends Mtg. Ho., Bush Rd., Fred Burkhill, "Mediumship." PPU.

LONDON, W.C.1: 7.30 p.m.; Conway Hall Club Room, Red Lion Sq., nr. Holborn Underground. Youth Forum, introduced by Wilfred Wellock. "America from Inside." Adm. free. All young people welcome. PYAG and PN.

NEWCASTLE-UPON-TYNE: 7.30 p.m.; City Hall, Northumberland Rd., Rev. Michael Scott, Father Raynes, "Disaster threatens South Africa." Public Mtg. Adm. 1s. Tyne-side Africa Council.

Every week!

SUNDAYS
HYDE PARK: 3 p.m.; Pacifist Youth Action Group. Every Sunday. PYAG.

TUESDAYS
MANCHESTER: 1-2 p.m.; Deansgate Blitz Site. Christian pacifist open-air mtg. Local Methodist ministers and others. MPF.

WEDNESDAYS
NOTTINGHAM: 1.15 p.m.; Open-air mtg. Old Market Sq. Rev. Donald Pipe and others. FOR. PPU.

THURSDAYS
LONDON, W.C.1: 1.15-4.15 p.m.; Church of St. George the Martyr, Queen St. Weekly lunch-hour Service of Intercession for World Peace. Conducted by clergy and laymen of different denominations.

Fair deal for minorities

I READ with interest Tom Wardle's article "Give Minorities a Fair Deal" (January 28). We are living today in an age of increasing centralisation of power in the hands of a small number of influential bodies. These bodies have access to the means of publicity—to hearings, newspapers, radio and television—while minority organisations are finding it harder than ever to obtain a hearing.

The solution would appear to be a minority movements federation as advocated by Mr. Wardle. Such a federation, linking together democratic minority organisations in a broad association, could do much to ensure the continued freedom of independent thought. Could not Peace News take a lead in launching the Federation?

"RIK."

34 Louis St., Leeds 7.

Nationalism and Democracy

JOHN NIBB in his last letter begins with some irrelevant observations about colonial conditions being "often improved" by imperialist rulers. Imperialists always make this claim, which is commonly disputed by colonial peoples when they have a chance to express their views; and some of us feel that "the toad beneath the harrow knows exactly where the harrow goes." We also feel that, if we were Africans or subject people of any country, we should consider that it was for us, and not for John Nibb, to decide what were "improvements" and what "improvements" we wanted. But what has this to do with my simple, factual statement that imperialism has involved the world in a continual succession of wars?

"The weak spot of modern imperialism," says John Nibb "is that it is itself nationalist." The European armies which looted China after the Boxer rising were impeccably international; but I have yet to learn that they were any more pacific for that reason; and much of the anti-Western feeling in China today (a form of nationalism which is no doubt regrettable) stems from the record of international imperialism.

No one can prove any right—a right is something which belongs to the realm of faith and morals. When I spoke of democratic rights I was not thinking of something which necessarily exists in law. Where such rights do exist in law it is because the people, feeling such rights to be inherent, took them for granted and succeeded in giving them legal sanction. Hence, when I spoke of imperialism denying democratic rights to its victims I referred to moral rights which, whether they existed in law or not, were already recognised in principle by (e.g.) the "democratic" imperialists of Great Britain and France. John Nibb's reference to the French "democrats" who were so eager to march on Berlin in 1870 only illustrates what I had already pointed out—that these French "democrats" had no respect for the democratic rights of Germans, any more than they had for those of their subjects in the French colonies. This is an illustration, not of nationalism, but of imperialism—not of democracy, but of its opposite.

What "Personism" is or how it works we are left to guess. And who are the "the right people" and how are they to be placed "in control of educational machinery" in—say—Kenya and South Africa? I know two ways of deciding these two questions—breaking heads or counting them. And the history of colonialism shows that until we are prepared to adopt the second way (democracy) we shall be

LETTERS

indefinitely faced with wars and revolutions. It is not, as John Nibb naively assumes, a question of the right of a few settlers to stay put "after a couple of generations." It is a question of whether the indigenous inhabitants are to be ruled by—or, at least, in the interests of—these settlers. And if he can't see that colonialism breeds nationalism and necessitates armed repression he had better read a little history.

Many who knew Gandhi must have smiled when they read that his "type of nationalism" was "substantially worth no more than any other normal brand," apart from the "uncommon element of pacifism." As Mr. Nibb's case is that nationalism is the cause of war it leaves me wondering how India could possibly be drawn into a war if it had followed Gandhi's programme consistently. Even assuming the truth of the statement which dismisses Gandhi's political philosophy so cavalierly, how do pacifist nationalists set about attacking their neighbours?

For absurdity this conception is only equalled by John Nibb's picture of a pacifist dictatorship, determined to disarm, quelling a popular rising (which would no doubt include an army revolt) by an "adequate police force." The only way in which an armed revolt could be stopped without a civil war would be by a popular campaign of passive resistance—and this is about the last thing which an unpopular dictatorial government could hope for or would have the moral authority to organise.

REGINALD REYNOLDS.

20 Jubilee Place, S.W.3.

East and West

MR. TOM WARDLE in his letter says that "with Western domination of the world there would be peace—of a kind." I presume he means the political "West," not merely the geographical West. But the "West" had complete domination up to 1917, and there was not

peace, even peace "of a kind." In the Western world now there is not peace. Hence Western domination has not and cannot mean "peace" which is what Stalin meant when in his last written work he said that it was wrong to suppose that "wars between capitalist countries are no longer inevitable."

As regards the new comradely relations being built up between the USSR, China and the European People's Democracies; I do not think that many thinking people will deny that a new type of international relations is coming into existence. Within this system peaceful co-operation is really a fact.

Thus, in the world today, there are two systems, the "West" and the "East." In the "West" there is no evidence of the elimination of wars, in the "East" there is such evidence. No doubt many years will be needed before everyone is convinced of this, but what do we do in the meantime?

The mass of ordinary people in the "West," the peoples and governments in the "East," are fairly united on certain issues: That Germany should not be remilitarised, that China should be admitted to the United Nations, that H-bombs and A-bombs should be outlawed, that disarmament all round is better than an all-round arms race, etc. Surely it is on these things that we should get together and secure effective action in the interests of peace at the present time.

PAT SLOAN, General Secretary.

British Soviet Friendship Society, 36 Spencer St., E.C.1.

[We comment in Behind the News.—Ed.]

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Director of Peace News. Just back from an extensive U.S. Lecture Tour

FOR YOUTH

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Conway Hall Club Room, Red Lion Sq., (nr. Holborn Station) AMERICA—FROM INSIDE

Open evening for all young people Clubs Invited.

FOR EVERYONE

Friday, 4th March, 7.30 p.m.

Friends International Centre 32 Tavistock Sq., (Russell Sq., Station) AMERICA—WHICH WAY NOW?

Chairman: J. Allen Skinner Refreshments—7.0 - 7.30 p.m.

Members and all interested in the P.P.U. Social Order Commission are invited to an informal tea-table discussion, with Wilfred Wellock, J. Allen Skinner, Dora Holden, of its future work, 5.30 p.m. on March 4 at Friends International Centre.—Tas 1s. 6d.

PEACE NEWS MEETINGS

CLASSIFIED ADVERTISEMENTS

TERMS: Cash with order, 3d. per word, minimum 2s. 6d. (Box No. 6d. extra). Please don't send stamps in payment, except for old peace. Maximum length 60 words. Address for Box No. replies: Peace News, 3 Blackstock Rd., N.4.

LATEST TIME for copy: Monday morning before publication.

MEETINGS

CONCERT. Songs, dances and other items from all over the world are presented in a Grand London-Colonial Youth Concert, Feb. 26, 7.30 p.m. Friends Ho., Euston Rd., Adm. 2s.

INTERNATIONAL CLUB, Bath, Tuesdays, 7.30. Literary Institute, 18 Queen St. All welcome. M.A. B.Litt.

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Mr. Attlee answered by pacifist organisations

A FEW months ago Mr. Attlee refused to meet a delegation from British pacifist organisations because, he said, he was fully aware of the pacifist position.

When last week an interview with Mr. Percy Cudlipp was published in the News Chronicle, Mr. Attlee was reported as saying: "I was concerned to refute the idea popular in pacifist quarters that it is possible to isolate nuclear bombs from other weapons and 'out-law' them."

The Chairman of the Standing Joint Pacifist Committee, Miss Sybil Morrison, sent the following letter to the News Chronicle, which the editor of that paper published on the morning the British decision to manufacture the H-bomb was announced:

Dear Sir,

In the interview between Mr. Cudlipp and Mr. Attlee published in your issue of today's date, the leader of the Labour Party is asserted to have said "I was concerned to refute the idea popular in pacifist quarters that it is possible to isolate nuclear bombs from other weapons and 'outlaw' them."

Mr. Attlee does not move in pacifist circles and has a totally wrong idea of what is popular in them. I write on behalf of the Standing Joint Pacifist Committee, which is representative of all the pacifist organisations in Britain, to state that Mr. Attlee completely misrepresents the pacifist position which has always been that it is not possible to make any moral distinction between the

weapons of war, and that it is war itself which is the moral evil and the political futility which must be abolished. When pacifists have drawn attention to the effects of atomic weapons in particular it has been to re-emphasise the need for the renunciation of the method of war itself and every weapon of violence.

Sybil Morrison,
Chairman.

Another letter was sent to Mr. Attlee asking him to withdraw his statement "since we are quite certain that you would not wish to give the readers of the News Chronicle a wrong impression."

EMRYS HUGHES

□ FROM PAGE ONE

H-bomb has made so much of our air strategy futile and obsolete would have been there all the same and so would the technical difficulties and the headaches.

I cannot for the life of me see that a programme of bigger and better H-bombs is the answer.

The people of this country would be infinitely safer if we had no atom bombs at all.

It is the presence of the American atom bombs and our own bombers here that makes this island an inevitable target in the event of war and the position of the people of Britain so perilous.

If Britain announced its intention not to make H-bombs, if it told the Americans that Britain must not be a base for a war with



Emrys Hughes, MP, welcoming Samuel Marshak, the Russian translator of Burns, and Madame Elistratova, the Russian delegation to the International Burns Festival at Ayr last month.

the Russians, that would have a tremendous effect all over the world and relieve Russian fear.

For what earthly purpose would the Russians have in bombing an island which was not going to attack them?

Every year that goes by with the big Powers stock-piling their H-bombs, the more dangerous does the world become and especially for the countries that have allowed themselves to become bomber bases.

That is the inescapable fact. Mr. Crossman in the Sunday Pictorial tells us:

"Unless we Socialists are prepared to advocate one sided British disarmament we can hardly say 'No' to a British H-bomb." He continues:

"In logic as well as terms of human emotion there is a lot to be said for pure pacifism as a policy."

And having arrived at this very sensible conclusion Mr. Crossman goes on:

"But I doubt whether the British people is prepared to strip itself of all military defence. And on this issue there is no easy half way house."

But Mr. Attlee and others have admitted that there is no defence against H-bombs. So why should we not tell the truth to the people, and say that manufacturing H-bombs is no defence at all, and if H-bombs constitute no defence, and if their manufacture makes this country more dangerous, why should we hesitate to strip ourselves of them?

In other words we should challenge completely and directly the Government decision to make H-bombs.

The time has come for a determined, definite stand against the production of H-bombs in a Britain that is in Churchill's phrase "in the front line."

If we are really thinking of the fate of Britain's civilian population we should not hesitate to give public opinion a lead, neither hesitate nor hang behind it.

MANCHESTER FRIENDS' MEETING HOUSE

Mount Street

WEDNESDAY, MAR. 2 at 7.30 pm.

Public Meeting: "Formosa"

Speaker: Miss Erith Adlam

THE PEACE PLEDGE UNION

Britain, and Formosa policy

U.S. BASES SHOULD GO

"BRITAIN MUST MAKE IT PLAIN NOW TO AMERICA, TO THE UNITED NATIONS, AND TO THE WORLD, THAT SHE WILL NOT BE EMBROILED IN AN AMERICAN WAR OVER FORMOSA. SHE MUST DEMAND THE EVACUATION OF QUEMOY AND MATSU, AND STATE QUITE FRANKLY THAT UNLESS THESE ISLANDS ARE EVACUATED, THE AMERICAN AIR-FORCE AND BASES MUST BE WITHDRAWN FROM THIS COUNTRY."

This view was expressed by speaker after speaker at a crowded meeting in London on Tuesday organised by the Political Committee of the Co-operative Party. It was an issue on which not only the Co-operative Party, but the whole Labour movement was united.

The mood of the meeting was tense. There was an awareness that life and death were involved; that the price of mistakes made in modern political relationships would be higher than human imagination could ever have conceived before.

Mrs. Barbara Castle, MP, warned the audience against the "preventive war" school in America, the Right Wing of the Republican Party, whose spokesmen were agreed that "time is not on the side of the West."

The view was being canvassed in Washington, behind closed doors, that the time may have come to solve the Formosan conflict by dropping an atomic bomb on the Chinese mainland. The Eisenhower statement on the defence of the islands was itself a victory for this school of American thought.

Control NATO A-bombs

"The question I shall be asking the Foreign Secretary tomorrow," said Mrs. Barbara Castle, "is whether this country cannot now demand in NATO that no member shall, without first consulting other members of NATO, use atomic power, even in those regions where the organisation does not operate."

"For Britain is not a weak satellite of America; the air bases in this country make her a strong partner in a powerful alliance. Are we going to use that strength in the interests of peace?"

"I am in favour of the United Nations, she continued. "But there is only one way to make a go of it. To be the guardian and voice of the world conscience it must be truly representative, and it must not be afraid to take sides against any great power in the world. If war breaks out as a result of the defence of Quemoy and Matsu, then the United States must be declared an aggressor."

This argument was carried a stage further by Mr. Ziliacus, who said: "If we mean business by this refusal, we must make it clear that in the event of war breaking out, and Russia coming to the aid of China, we will do our best to come to a friendly agreement with Russia to keep the war out of Europe."

Mr. Tom Williams, MP, the opening speaker, emphasised the fact that Formosa was but "one symptom of the disease of the body politic."

There were two ideologies in the world; both sides believed that theirs was the way of life and the other the way of death. It would mean death for all unless there were some way of breaking through this barrier.

So long as there remained "have and 'have-not' nations, so long as large areas lived in misery, poverty and squalor such that death seemed no worse than life, so long would the fight for the souls of men be lost hands down to the Communists.

Call new Geneva meeting

PLACING of Formosa under temporary United Nations control for a period of years, with a Geneva-type conference to bring this about, was urged by Sir Geoffrey Mander in Wolverhampton on Monday night (Feb. 21).

Sir Geoffrey, who is a joint trustee of the United Nations Association and has made a study of the Formosa question, was speaking on "The Formosa Crisis" at a public meeting arranged by Wolverhampton and District Peace Council.

A resolution passed by the meeting urged the British Government "to make it clear to the government of the USA that this country will not support American intervention in the affairs of China and will not be drawn into war with China on account of the Formosa dispute."

H-BOMB "MAKES FOR ENMITY"

The following statement was sent to the Press, the Prime Minister, and the Marquis of Salisbury last weekend. It had been unanimously approved by the National Council of the Peace Pledge Union.

"This National Council of the Peace Pledge Union, consisting of representatives from all parts of the country, meeting on the 19th day of February, 1955, wishes to record the strongest possible protest against the decision of H.M. Government to proceed with the development and manufacture of hydrogen bombs.

"We believe that the use of weapons of mass destruction violates all principles of humanity as well as the Genocide Convention and that so far from promoting peace, the fear and suspicion engendered by the possession of such weapons makes for enmity and antagonism.

"We earnestly pray H.M. Government to reconsider immediately so retrograde a step, and to set an example of common sense and good will to the world by renouncing the use of the H-bomb, irrespective of the attitude of other governments, as the first step towards total disarmament, and by initiating conferences and negotiations for the purpose of settling all outstanding differences."

The resolution continued: "Further this meeting is of the opinion that the Peking Government should be recognised by the United Nations without further delay as the government of China."

Sir Geoffrey said the right thing would be to try to work out some conference on the lines of the Geneva Conference on Indo-China.

"It horrified the Americans when it started," he said, "but it got everyone concerned living in the same town. At Geneva the British and Indians met every one and in the end got people talking to one another."

The Peking Government would dislike it but it was not right that they should be allowed into Formosa at present. If the two million refugees on the island were handed over to the Communists, it would be a kind of mass-acre.

Behind the scenes the British Government was working on the right lines. Where the government was wrong was in not saying publicly what they were saying to the Americans privately.

"They should tell the Americans they must surrender the coastal islands," he said. "If this was said in the House of Commons, it would have a bigger effect."

The Americans would then realise it was impossible to go on with their policy which would risk the whole Western alliance.

Sir Geoffrey said: "Mr. Dulles is a most ham-handed Foreign Secretary. He appears to be incapable of consecutive thought about this problem."

Sooner or later the United States would have to recognise the Peking Government. It was a question of somehow saving the faces of both the Americans and the Chinese.

BERTRAND RUSSELL

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● From page one

receive information on the world scene. It may involve a legal suit against the Government, but we are not yet sure.

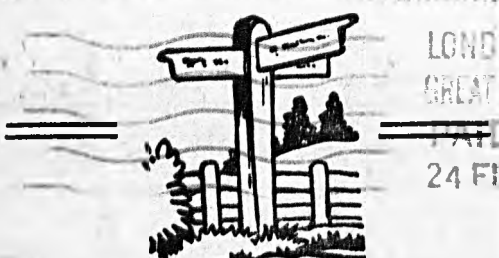
"We hope to give it more publicity in this country and are planning to have a conference with one of the editors of the Christian Science Monitor. The National Office of the American Friends Service Committee (Quakers) and the Civil Liberties Union of Massachusetts are both very concerned."

The Boston Post articles indicate that New England customs officials are acting under Code Title 18 which permits them to seize "propaganda."

Their main aim appears to be to prevent (a) publications from the Soviet bloc; and (b) publications from other countries which criticise US policies, reaching private citizens.

FOOTNOTE: The air express edition of Peace News has not been affected. This is flown out weekly by BOAC.

See also "Dictatorship by Incineration," p. 3 and "Freedom takes two blows," p.2.



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Annual General Meeting

Royal Scottish Corporation Hall
Fetter Lane, (Fleet Street end) E.C.4

Wednesday, March 2, 1955

5.45 p.m. Refreshments

6.30 p.m. Annual Report

7.30 p.m. Address by

GEORGE CRADDOCK, M.P.

Questions & Discussion

ALL INVITED